



BALLOT OR BULLET.

What if Old Parties Beaten at the Polls—Resist us Still?

TACTICS, OLD AND NEW.

An Ohio Correspondent, Evidently a Victim to the Optic Delusion Raised by Filmy Historians, and Muddled by the Twaddle of Political Charlatans, asks a Question, that Though Frequently Answered, Bears Re-answering.

A moment may be profitably bestowed upon the below letter:

"Editor THE PEOPLE—You argue that victory must be gained at the ballot box. Now, I will give you my views on this question. Reform will never, no, never gain victory by the ballot box. Now, you say the enemy must all be smitten hip and thigh at the ballot box. Now, let me ask you a question: Suppose the Socialist Labor party get 75 per cent. of the votes in the United States, and that then, on the 4th of March the old parties would surround the White House with the military and cannons, and tell the new party that they can't come in. WHAT WOULD YOU DO?" B. S. WELLS.

Burton City, O., June 12.

Mr. Wells' premises that we are in error when we expect the triumph of the revolutionary movement at the ballot box, and his opinion, implied in his closing question, that physical force is the only available means to success, involve a many-sided error: an error of historic fact, an error of sociologic requirements, an error of misappreciation of local conditions, and finally an error in tactics—in short, he succumbs to an optic delusion.

The detonations of guns make so much noise in the world's history that they are apt to shut out from the ear the historic sounds of deeper significance, and the smoke of battles blinds the eyes so extensively that it veils the solid facts of real weight. Owing to this, superficial observers fall into the error of concluding that physical force is of the essence of revolutions, and fail to realize that it is merely an accompaniment of revolutions, with all that implies. A brief review of a few leading historic events will illustrate the point.

The French Revolution was the most thorough-going class upheaval known. The bourgeois, or oncoming capitalist class, overturned the social order, threw down feudalism and enthroned itself. Was this revolution accomplished by physical force? No. The thousands of heads that rolled off the scaffold, the massacres that dyed France purple have so fascinated the eye of historians that they have given to these incidents a place in history clean out of proportion to their merit. The issue was the assumption of power by the Third Estate. The elections were hotly contested. Noble and bourgeois strove for seats in that House. The battlefields were the hustings, the weapon was the ballot. The revolution was accomplished by the conquest of the Third House by the revolutionary bourgeoisie. "When physical force was resorted to, it was not resorted to in order to conquer. It was resorted to in order to keep the conquest which the ballot had won; it was resorted to not as an initiative measure, but as a measure responsive to the appeal to arms made by the feudal government for the purpose of thwarting the peaceful parliamentary victory.

Identical at all points was the case with the English Revolution, our own Revolution, and even with that substantial class revolution that ended here with the emancipation of the negro. The British bourgeois had conquered the House of Commons at the ballot box before war broke out; our Revolutionary fathers conquered at the ballot box the Continental Congress before real war ensued; the Republican party conquered the parliamentary government before the Civil War was started. In each of these instances victory was gained and the revolution accomplished peacefully by the ballot; physical force was not resorted to in order to gain but to preserve the ballot victory, and it was not initiated by the revolutionists. It was initiated by the overthrown parties and the revolutionists, victorious at the polls, were as a matter of course, victorious on the field of physical force also. History denies the sweeping principle that force, and not the ballot, can accomplish a revolution.

Revolutions cannot be accomplished except by a revolutionary movement; this renders a revolutionary agitation among the masses a necessary prerequisite. The revolution must be accomplished in the heads before the arm, wielding either ballot or bullet, can either set it up or enforce it. How is the necessary education to be conducted? Self-evidently it must be conducted in such manner as to reach the masses. Education that calls to arms first is insane and unscientific. It is insane because, in the first place, it infers knowledge of what is to be done from the means by which to accomplish a purpose; it is vain to imagine that the simple fact of a man seeing a gun he is better informed upon the social question than if he seizes the ballot; education must have preceded action; only in the measure in which he has been educated can a man know to what purpose to use his weapon; imagine, for instance, the uninformed masses of workingmen, who voted for the syndicated candidate of the silver mine barons last November, with guns in

their hands; they would have made no better use of their guns than did their equally untutored fellow wage slaves who voted for the syndicated candidate of the gold bugs, make of their votes. Education that starts by calling to arms is insane in second place because it muzzles itself. How are the masses to be tutored if they are not reached, and how can they be reached if the language of the agitator must speedily land him in jail? The propaganda of physical force must be conducted on a sly, in whispers, in dark holes, in short it excludes the masses. The Social Revolution of our day is the concern of the masses; such revolutions cannot be dwarfed into conspiracies; they must be preached in the broad light of day. Physical force propaganda is forced to shrivel to the small measure of a conspiracy, and the atmosphere of conspiracy is the atmosphere that breeds the police spy. A rascally little book, entitled "A Secret and Confidential Address," etc., by "Father Gavroche," set afloat in the West and South, proves the truth of this principle. Any one familiar with the literature of the modern Social Revolution will easily detect in its Jesuitical and smirching and insinuating methods, hand in hand with its rapid, ignorant and misleading theories, all the well known earmarks of the work of police spies, bent upon entrepping the hot-headed, sacrificing the innocent, and scuttling the revolutionary movement.

Furthermore, physical force propaganda is unscientific because it ignores, besides the historic facts of the past, the conditions of localities, and would stretch the facts to suit a theory instead of adapting a theory to suit the facts.

Mr. Wells, by asking what we would do if the old parties were to bar us from the White House after we had vanquished at the polls, takes it for granted that the old parties will try to bar us out. In this respect he abandons the prime method of historic reasoning. Things will happen as they happened before, provided similar conditions prevail again. In the measure in which ruling conditions change historic events take different aspects. In all the revolutionary instances mentioned above, we have seen the revolution, peacefully accomplished at the ballot box, forced subsequently to take up arms to repel force with force. The advocates of physical force, after being driven from their first false position of placing physical force in the foreground, always fall back upon the argument: "Well, at any rate, you will eventually need force to repel force with, just as with the previous Revolutions, enumerated by yourself," they look to modern Europe, where the present aspect of things does seem to forecast a bloody conflict, and they conclude that the same will happen here.

Should, indeed, the old parties, beaten at the polls, resort to violence against us, they will find their fate forecast by that of the classes, who, in previous revolutions tried the same trick. Mr. Wells need have no fear that a Socialist movement, intelligent and numerous enough to triumph at the ballot box, will be found lacking the spirit to make short work of those who would dare to rise in rebellion against it, and this would be done all the easier because the "old parties" would then be left to the resources of their own class, a class so small that if it were to bar the passage of the triumphant Socialist proletariat into Washington, could and would be dumped into the Potomac, without even raising a frown.

But is it so certain that our capitalist class would attempt resistance? Here the sociologic question resolves itself into a psychological one. We can imagine a handful of European lords daring to face the serried ranks of millions of Socialist proletarians and succumb; whatever the defects of the European nobility, cowardice is not among them; it has been brought up among them; it has been brought up among the military code where honor is based on bravery. But our ruling class, has it been brought up on any such code? No! Its exploits have not been made on the "field of honor"; it has gained its spurs by sanding our sugar, watering our molasses, putting stone dust into our meal, inserting shoddy into our cloth, by failures and fires, by petty larceny committed on a large scale on the proletariat, and by chicanery of all sorts; its spurs have been earned on the field of swindle and by the code of swindle. Now, swindlers are ever cowards. Our coward ruling class will—ten to one—not dare to stand up against the masses of the proletariat, whom an intelligent purpose has welded together, and whom a sound aim impels to its goal. Our ruling class will tremble in its stolen boots. To-day, with a proletariat weak because divided, and divided because it yet ignores its own class interests; to-day, with a proletariat that is the prey of political charlatans and despicable labor fakirs, the capitalist class does what cowards always do—play the bully; but this bully, like all other bullies, will crawl when a genuine power confronts him. The proletariat, animated by the light of Socialism, will not be the weakling we see it to-day; the bully capitalist class will, ten to one, run.

The Socialist movement is a movement of peace. It does not, however, ignore that force is at times the midwife of peace. We shall conduct our agitation upon the lines of peace, fighting our battles on the battlefield of civilization—the hustings. But we are no Quakers or fools either; on our army's shoulders rests the fate of the race. Conscious of our mission, we shall not pally with measures. All the more determined because animated with humane instincts, we shall not be slow or lack the power to grind into dust whatever physical opposition may venture to throw itself into our way for the purpose of screening the bestial system of capital in violation of the civilized law of the suffrage.

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THOROUGH.

Declarations of a German Congress of Trades Unions.

The Policy of New Trade Unionism, Planted in America in these Days of Reconstruction, Emphatically Proclaimed by the Experienced Workers of Germany—Pointed Condemnation of Pure and Simplesdom and its Advocates Methods, Theory and Aims.

It is, of course, no one thing that determines results. Neither the development of the capitalist system exclusively, nor the general degree of intelligence, nor any other one thing exclusively that determines the development of the Socialist movement in any one country. With this qualification it is safe to quote the below resolutions adopted by the national congress of local trade unions of Germany, held last month in Halle, as one of the reasons for the solidness of the movement in Germany, and as an additional reason, if any were needed, why the trade unions of America should promptly reorganize upon the basis of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. Justly do the resolutions point out all other form of labor organization is harmful, and all attempt to disconnect the economic from the Socialist political movement can proceed only from the foes of the workers.

The resolutions are a condensed statement of sound aims and tactics; they deserve careful reading. Here they are:

WHEREAS, The so-called trade union or economic struggle, for the improvement of the condition of the working class under the present social order, cannot be conducted without bringing the relations of the worker into sharp and direct contact with the modern state, and its legislative and executive organs;

WHEREAS, The trade union or economic struggle can, accordingly, not be separated from the political struggle for political power;

WHEREAS, Neither any real improvement in the condition of the worker, nor any tangible increase of his rights is to be expected from the sense of humanity or from the goodwill of the present social order, while it is evident that only the struggle for man's rights builds up the rights of man;

WHEREAS, This struggle can be conducted with the requisite vigor and the requisite unity of the workers only when its character is recognized of being the class struggle of the working class against their exploitation;

WHEREAS, This necessary and unavoidable class struggle can be conducted with the prospect of success only by close and conscious adherence to the principles and tactics of the Social Democratic party of Germany; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the divorce of the economic movement from conscious Social Democratic politics is impossible without rendering hopeless and laming the struggle for the improvement of the condition of the worker under the present social order;

RESOLVED, That all effort, from whatever source it may proceed, looking to the loosening or sundering of the bonds between the trade union movement and the Social Democratic party, is to be looked upon as hostile to the interests of the working class; and

RESOLVED, That all form of labor organization that impedes the struggle for labor's political aims is defective and should be rejected.

MOVEMENT ABROAD.

Numerous elections for local bodies have recently been contested by Socialists of various groups. So far as they go the results indicate that the movement is doing more than marking time. The following summary will be found fairly comprehensive. For Boards of Guardians, England, 5 defeats were compensated by 6 victories. In 4 of the unsuccessful fights the Socialist figures showed large increases, including one from 351 to 862, and another from 224 to 466; 12 successes at parish councils in various parts of the country had 1 set off; 10 school boards saw us on the winning list, against 4 failures. At Aberdeen the Socialist at the top of the poll scored 14,396, and other Socialist and trade union votes made a combined labor poll of 37,936. (Each elector has 15 votes). At Musselburgh, in Scotland, also, our man topped the poll. Edinburgh gave us 11,942, or 200 more than last time (15 votes per head.) For the Stirlingshire Board the I. L. P. was second, and at Haworth the Socialist was third, out of 19 contestants. (935 votes). Urban district councils were not so satisfactory, with 12 defeats and 2 victories, though the polls were relatively good. London does not enthrone the warfare in vestrydom, and the old sets usually manage to whip up enough personal friends to keep their majorities. Eight results affecting Socialist candidatures are unfavorable, but the elections are only in the slightest degree representative. It will be seen that this little list of encounters, which concludes with the capture of the elective auditorship at Salford, has given the palm to our people in rather the majority of cases.

SHOTS

Fired at Current Economic and Political Fallacies.

The Capitalist Lord the Source of the Enthusiasm of his Serfs for Him—Wild Language held by Middle Class Folks Against big Capitalists—Temporary Lucidity of a Capitalist Paper—High Wages and their Purchasing Power—Socialist Tactics Towards Unions.

DETROIT, Mich., June 14.—Ed. Walker, son of the whiskey king, Hiram Walker, returned home to Walkerville, Ont., Canada, from England with his newly wedded wife on May 7th. His father's satellites and vassals, i. e., the superintendents of the different shops and independent (?) merchants and manufacturers who rent their business places from Walker, decided to bring their "monarch's son" the welcome appropriate to a man in his position. Walker owns the large whiskey distillery, and practically everything else in town. On account of Walker's philanthropy the town, like Pullman town, is looked at and spoken of as a "model town."

I was working in the Christy saddle works in Walkerville at that time. This concern has its actual works in Jackson, Mich., and keeps the shop in Walkerville solely for the purpose of polishing, plating and assembling the bicycle saddles made in the United States but exported to Canada, England and Australia. In this way they escape the paying of the duty which must be paid on completed saddles. On the morning of the above named day the news was talked about the shop that we were expected to march to the depot or dock to welcome Walker. It was soon found that nobody cared to march and lose the time, which must have been told to the superintendent. Immediately afterwards a notice was tacked up that every one in the shop, women and all, were expected to march to the dock to meet Mr. Walker and welcome him at the ferry; the engine would shut down at 11 o'clock for that purpose. Of course this had its effect; nobody dared to kick for fear of discharge, although the prospects were that the most of them would be laid off in the course of a few weeks anyhow.

In the parade, in which the employees of nearly all other shops participated, the displeasure of the men was shown by the following expressions, which were uttered by some of the marching workmen during the parade: "Why don't these people" (meaning the spectators) "toss eggs at us?" and "I wish I could drop out," or, "I never felt so rotten and ashamed of myself in all my life as to be forced to make a monkey of myself for that — makes me feel." It must be said that Walker did not receive the hearty welcome from these wage-slaves that he did from the middle class people. But these wage-slaves, who were forced to choose between an immediate dose of starvation punishment and marching, still imagine themselves free men. Many "Yankees," as those that come from the United States are called there in Canada, will say: "Yes, but you see, this cannot happen in the United States; this happened in Canada." Well, but what will they say when they are told that several hundred of those men and women were Yankees, forced to leave their country and accept such degradation in Canada, because it is still better than that which their own country offers them? Moreover, the identical things happen here.

The Detroit "Evening News" of May 27th contains an article under the heading "Rockefeller's Power Causes Bitter Feeling Among Vessel Owners There, Too," in which a few vesselmen are said to have held the following conversation when some of Rockefeller's boats passed: "It would be a good thing to have a charge of dynamite explode under those boats," and his neighbor assented cordially. Further on it says: "A few years ago," said a prominent vesselman, "the season's freight rate depended on corn; now ore fixes it, and Rockefeller fixes the rate for ore. No one is in the swim AT ALL unless he owns A STEEL 400-FOOTER, and then he must be in the pool. The only branch of lake trade not in immediate danger from Rockefeller's manipulations seems to be the lumber business. The small vessels have a chance among the many narrow and shallow harbors where they must load. But even here there is nothing like that independence of old times, when the ship captain was a monarch besieged with petitions from humble lumber men to carry their goods to market. So many lumbermen own their own boats that the rate is kept to the very lowest point." H.M! This sounds very different then from the silver nonsense the "News" wrote during the last fall campaign. One would almost claim that the "News" knows more about economics than it showed when it upheld the silver nonsense. A person sometimes wonders which of the two influences controls the journalist's mind and pen mainly intellectual bankruptcy, which alone can enable them to write articles with the above mentioned contents without becoming enlightened on economics, or moral bankruptcy, which alone can enable them to accept money to entrap the workers in the capitalists' traps.

The points stand as plain as day-light. The article shows why so many boats, even fleets of four and five boats, one steamer, and several other large vessels, which are taken in tow by the steamer, are anchored in different places in the Detroit River awaiting "the return of prosperity." It also explains that it never required a great lot of smartness to do business; any fool could accept grand offers made by beseeching customers, if he was lucky enough to own the tools or the means to perform the job.

This also explains the fact that the very circumstance that enables the larger middle class capitalists to expropriate and squeeze labor, enables the large capitalists to expropriate the smaller ones of their fleecings, and force them into the ranks of the slums; not of the decent proletariat, because these expropriated small fellows as a rule are too lazy and look upon themselves as too intellectual to work. Therefore, they turn to preying upon society. This explains why we get an overproduction of politicians, who, once in a while, are forced to bolt their leaders and the capitalist class proper for fear of getting left entirely. No wonder that they want to use dynamite when their last hopes of being able to continue to fleece and sponge are fading. But they may probably be bright enough to see some day that the dynamite of the ballot box, used by class-conscious proletarians, is the thing to be used to blow up the whole capitalist system of exploitation and expropriation.

The "News" also attacked the bill aiming at the establishment of a minimum wage rate of \$1.50 a day for labor done for the city of Detroit, which is at present before the Legislature of Michigan, on the ground that it would flow into the pockets of certain political favorites, and that all this money has to be raised by the "property owners." Why don't the "News" attack the raising of campaign funds, of which a good deal flows into the pockets of newspaper owners? This money, together with the money paid out to politicians for city work, as well as the value which this equivalent will purchase, has to be produced by labor, and is sponged by capitalists to buy men who will help them to enable them to fleece and suck the last drop of blood out of labor. Why don't the "News" explain this?

There was a time when the better fixed middle class did not kick against any scheme that aimed at giving the politicians more power over labor—this was when the wage-workers and the very small business men (the former artisans) could be taxed to nearly the full extent of the cost. At that time they were able to escape taxation, but they derived the full benefit of the politician's manipulations. Now, the wage-workers can buy too little to be able to be taxed to the full amount necessary for such schemes, and the small artisan business man has been expropriated and crowded into the ranks of the proletariat. Hence they kick now when the large capitalist forces the well fixed middle class to pay the biggest part of the taxes. The politician becomes too expensive for the likings of the middle class; they would like to abolish him, and they themselves would then take his place, or, at least, he must be forced to bunco steer the workers for the love of it if he can't prey upon the workers directly any more. Hence their reform cries.

Gov. Pingree has different reform ideas however; he sees that the ward politicians and the labor fakirs are capital's most effective weapons against labor, and that to curtail their allowances means the death of capitalism; hence he introduces bills that aim at pushing a part of the expense on to the large capitalists. This is the sole aim of his railroad tax bill. But the fate of the income tax bill is going to be the fate of the railroad tax bill, and the deficiency in the treasury showed what effect the pauperization of the wage working class will have on the political hirelings of the capitalist class.

Both sides of the capitalist class are doing their best to keep the load of taxes from their own shoulders, and in this way they hasten the rapidly approaching social revolution.

If Gov. Pingree wants to stop fleeing and the dodging of taxes, he should start with protecting labor; if he will enable labor to get their full undivided product or its equivalent, and force those to pay "the expenses of protecting private property" (taxes), who will then be able to accumulate any? he will be more successful. But this is not what Pingree wants; he is like all bourgeois: "Labor has no right to kick when fleeced."

The idea that high wages raises the buying power of labor seems to stick to many half-informed labor advocates, while, on the other hand, the division of the work between all unemployed and employed workmen is slighted. This is mainly due to selfishness without due consideration, and ignorance. The rank and file of labor unions are not hostile to this regulation of work however, on the other hand, the wise-aces of labor, the "leaders," are the only ones who oppose this. Probably they are afraid that, with the work divided, the workers will earn so little to live, and that, consequently, the dues cannot be collected. If the wages of the workers in any industry rise, the capitalists raise the price of the product proportionally. The capitalists always make the largest possible profit, and this profit is regulated by the supply and demand of the product. If they have a monopoly on a certain article they raise their profits by reducing the supply. Since labor power is a commodity, the same as potatoes or beans, the price of which (wages) is regulated by the supply and demand, labor is placed in the same position as the owners of other commodities. A scarcity of beans raises the price but draws an increasing number of bean raisers, who flood the market and force down the price. High wages in any trade causes that trade to be oversupplied with journeymen, the competition between whom forces down wages. Wages in general can not receive a constant larger buying power until the whole wage working class has the absolute control over the supply of the total available amount of labor power. Take away the 5,000,000 of unemployed by dividing with them the work of the employed workers and the capitalists will find it impossible to starve a reserve

(Continued on Page 4.)

INFORMATION

From the Inside by one Who is Going Through the Mill.

FIGURES AND FACTS.

One of the Victims of the Late McKinley and Gold Bug Promises, Who has Learned Too Much by Experience to Become next Time a Victim of Tweedledee Bryan and Silver Bug Promises, Gives his Experience in Full in a New York Neck Wear Factory.

Having had some experience in the inner workings of a manufacturing mercantile establishment, I wish to relate them to the readers of THE PEOPLE.

Some fifteen years ago a young man came to New York from W—, where he had been a clerk for and later a partner of his brother's in a furnishing goods store. Arrived in New York, he managed to borrow some money, which, with his own little capital, he invested in the establishment of a neck wear factory.

By dint of good offers and liberal promises, he next managed to collect a good staff of those needful things in our benevolent system of distribution—drummers, also a foreman, forewomen and help, such as cutters and operators.

He prospered, as the saying is, by dint of hard work (?), frugality (?) and abstinence (?) The visible result of all this hard work, frugality and abstinence was a nice city residence, with a well-stocked wine cellar, horses both riding and driving, carriages, and servants galore.

Now let us take an inventory of the factory, salesroom, and expense account of this lieutenant of industry (he is not yet, not being a millionaire), a full-fledged captain.

He pays: In rent, \$10,000; to a credit clerk, whose chief job is being the boss's wife's brother, \$5,000; to one salesman, \$5,000; to a manager, \$4,000; to a salesman, \$4,000; to a foreman, \$3,500; to another salesman, \$3,000; to a cousin, occupation doubtful, \$2,500; to a third salesman, \$2,000; to a fore lady, \$1,800; to two other salesmen, \$1,500 each; and to another forelady, \$1,200.

In addition to this, the salesmen are allowed \$7 per diem when on the road as expenses. This constitutes the salaried force proper.

Then come the lower grades of salaries or wages: To a bookkeeper, \$15 per week; to a stock clerk, \$14; to a silk examiner (?), whose sole qualification consists in his being the nephew of his uncle, \$8; to two boys, \$4 a piece. This was the office and stock room force. Coming still lower, there are 9 cutters, at an average of \$13 per week; a male and female clerk, and a porter, averaging \$8 each per week; and errand boys, girls for boxing the stock, etc., at about \$3.00. These, together with the operators, who work by the piece, constitute the real working force of this model factory.

Now, let us contemplate closely the beauties of this divinely ordained system of Anarchistic, chaotic production, which our press, politicians, clergy and so-called political economists, aided and abetted by the labor fakirs of every degree, laud so highly on the ground, probably, of its developing the highest skinning faculties in man.

The business depression (unexpected, of course) sets in. What does our model business man do in the emergency?

As the experienced mariner shortens sail when overtaken by a storm, our model employer proceeds to curtail expenses. How? Here is the rub.

In the first place the silk examiner (?) receives orders to be more careful in his examination; which means that he must increase the claims for damages or defects in the silk-made goods, primarily against the merchants, but ultimately paid for by the silk weavers;

Next, some of the help are discharged; Next, the piece workers' wages are reduced; and

Next, wonderful to say, our model manufacturer reduces his own expenses BY BUILDING AN ELEGANT SUMMER RESIDENCE AT THE SEA SHORE, AND HIRING A COACHMAN.

This same model employer last fall showed his interest in his overpaid workmen by telling them that the election of Bryan would compel him to cease his philanthropic work of fleecing them; whereas, if they, as intelligent workmen, would vote for McKinley, he would continue at the old stand, and share then prosperity with them, generously taking the largest slice. He didn't put all this just this way, but that is what it amounted to.

His deluded workmen are still living in hopes, which they will never realize until they open their eyes, and rallying around the banner of the Socialist Labor party, fling out of power the political hirelings of the capitalist class, abolish the present diabolical system of capitalism and wage slavery, and establish the Socialist or Co-operative Commonwealth.

One of the Victims of McKinley and Gold Bug Promises, who has Learned Too Much to become next time a Victim of Bryan and Silver Bug Promises, and who henceforth proposes to join those who have taken the Capitalist Bull by both Horns.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential).....**2,068**
In 1890.....**13,351**
In 1892 (Presidential).....**21,157**
In 1894.....**33,133**
In 1896 (Presidential).....**36,564**

All effort, from whatever source it may proceed, looking to the loosening or sundering of the bonds between the trade union movement and the Social Democratic party (Socialist Labor party of Germany), is to be looked upon as hostile to the interests of the working class.
Trade Union Congress, Halle, Germany, May 19, 1897.

WHAT IT HAS COME TO.

The capitalist political camp in the Greater New York is now rent into two main bodies. One set of the exploiting class is centering around the distinguished corner of coffee, Mr. Seth Low, now President of Columbia University; the other centers around Mr. John C. Sheehan, the Buffalo defaulter, now head man of Tammany. The tug of war between the two camps is furious. Each is playing the puller-in trick, each trying to get over to its side—what? The larger number of voters? No, not yet; the larger roll of leading and notorious fleecers of the working class!

To the proverbial traveler from Mars, who, alighting upon our planet and metropolis, saw such performances, they would seem incomprehensible. His unsophisticated mind would be puzzled at the sight of the total neglect by the New York capitalists of the workingmen, who, being the overwhelming majority of the voters, not only can decide the battle for either side, but what is more, are actually expected to so decide it. Our traveler's surprise would, however, vanish if he took certain tips by carefully reading the papers. For instance:

A Tammany capitalist, being asked by some innocent what Tammany would do to secure the "labor vote," answered, winking his left eye:

"That's all right; we understand the labor people."

And a Seth Low labor skinner, being interrogated by another innocent, whether the bitter disappointment of the workers with regard to "prosperity" would not keep them away from last year's supporters of "prosperity," promptly answered, with a wink of his right eye:

"We know these workingmen; this year we shall promise 'reform.'"

The "washed" and the "unwashed"—the Seth Low and the Sheehan—bandit class are not only agreed upon the principle that the working class is there to be fleeced, but they have come to consider it a "natural law" that the working class is voting cattle; the side that gets the largest number of leading fleecers naturally dragging the largest flock of sheep at its heels.

But there are at hand surprises for these gentlemen. Around the banner of the Socialist Labor party a workingman's vote is gathering that will shatter all the "natural laws" on which capitalist economic and political brigandage is based.

The complicated, extensive and confusing debate on the Sugar Schedule—with its "polariscope," "differentials," "Dutch 16," "compound duties," etc.—is a graphic illustration of the utter waste of intellectual and other tissue that commercialism inflicts upon mankind.

The Knights of Labor of New York and vicinity deserve the thanks of the working people for the ocular proof they gave last Monday of the truth of our claim that they are dead and gone. They called a mass meeting at Union Square in the name of five D. A.'s to declare the "position of the Knights" on municipal ownership. The meeting was held with the masses absent. Half a dozen odd ends of the labor movement, the flotsam of fake labor political schemes, appeared on the platform and orated to not more than 150 "masses." Some claim that there were barely 100. It was a cold night for the corpse of the K. of L.

The Illinois Legislature has passed a law whereby all wages over \$8 a week shall be subject to levy and execution. Note:

What is not subject to levy and execution is what is supposed to be absolutely needed for a man to live on. Now, after over a hundred years of national existence, with a fabulous amount of wealth, called the national wealth, and with a much more fabulous amount of wealth producible, the Legislature of the third largest State in the Union virtually establishes \$8 as the amount of wealth on which a worker is to subsist.

Who says we are not making tremendous strides towards prosperity?

The Duluth and Superior, Minn., "Labor World," condemns a law passed by the Legislature of its State on the ground that:

"Time-honored traditions of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence are reversed by it."

It is just the flinging about of phrases of this sort that adds so greatly in flinging sand in the eyes and spreading cobwebs in the heads of the workers. "Time-honored traditions of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence," forsooth! If the "Labor World" knew what it is talking about it would not be so tender on that subject; it would know that civilization and the rights of man, eye of the toilers in particular, have made their way by trampling down many a bit of "time-honored Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence," "time-honored" only to the usurping class. We can understand how the mouth-pieces of usurpation should seek to overawe the proletariat by holding up as "time-honored" a jurisprudence framed by robber barons; a mouthpiece of the proletariat, however, should not aid in this swindle; its face should be turned forward; and if any thing good is found in the past, praises are due it, not as "time-honored" or "Anglo-Saxon," but as fitting with the sense of justice of the dawning civilization.

The Buffalo, N. Y., correspondent to our German organ, the N. Y. "Vorwaerts," tells of a new labor party that local fakirs of Buffalo are contemplating to start, the feature of which is to be that it will "support both the old political parties."

The New York "Iron Age," a capitalist organ of the trade, and not expected to be read by the workers, throws valuable light upon the use that capitalists occasionally make of a strike; inferentially, it also gives a tip upon how capitalists will manipulate the fakir leaders so as to mislead the rank and file into strikes at such times as the capitalists can profit by them.

In speaking of a threatened strike by the Amalgamated Association, it says:

"There have been periods in the past when a threat of this kind had some effect, but this year conditions are different. Numerous manufacturers will welcome a strike, and will be more than pleased if it lasts all summer, provided it is really general and closes the works of all their competitors with their own. They desire a restriction of production of a wholesale character, in the hope that the condition of trade would then be improved. In no other way could a general restriction of output be secured in some branches of the iron trade than through a strike, because the manufacturers are not organized, and concentrated action in cutting down production cannot be secured."

Quite numerous are the strikes, led by pure and simple, that are explained by this passage. The bosses wish to restrict production, a strike is a good pretext, and the labor fakir, who, unfortunately, for the rank and file, officers the organization, is paid by the bosses to see to it that a strike is declared, despite all the sufferings such act entails on the workers.

There is not a pure and simple labor leader or fakir in the country who does not shrink before the light into which the above paragraph of the "Iron Age" unwittingly throws these infamous labor rascals.

In the Leadville, Colo., "Western Miner," of the 5th instant appears a letter from Mr. Eugene V. Debs on the late disastrous miners' strike. The article is headed:

"Lessons of the Great Strike—Labor Should Profit by Experience, as the Capitalist does."

The heading should have been:

"Advice upon how to Postpone the Deliverance of the Working Class by Shutting its Eyes to the Experience it has made, and thereby keep it jumping from the fryingpan into the Fire, and from the Fire back into the Fryingpan."

Here is Mr. Debs' argument and "teaching." God help the mark!

"Suppose the miners now had the million and a half dollars the strike cost them, and suppose further that they concluded to go into the mining business themselves. Why not? Who dare say the proposition is not practicable? But it is not required to have so large a sum to begin with. A few thousand dollars would answer. The union could select three good members to supervise affairs, and by judicious management, co-operative mining could soon be established, and instead of miners working out their lives to enrich a few individuals, they would be doing something for themselves. This would not be all there is in co-operative industry, for this, to have the proper results, must be general, but it would end wage-slavery among the miners, and at the same time be a long stride in the right direction."

And be it noted that this "long stride in the right direction" is suggested despite the monumental failures, of which history is full, of just such alleged "strides in the right direction;" despite the exhaustive arguments that demonstrate that such "strides" are very "long" indeed, but uniformly in the WRONG direction, inasmuch as they proceed from principles that are just the reverse of those upon which Socialism is founded; despite the fact that just now, when the Ruskin colony is in the throes of violent and scandalous dissolution, the capitalist press, begins to team with long articles booming the colony as a "Socialist enterprise," preparatory, of course, to the

soon as that crazy Utopian scheme shall have collapsed; and, above all, despite the fact that already the capitalist press is teeming with articles on the "Carmaux Experiment" in France, is jubilant at the failure of the concern, and is seeking to palm off the "experiment" as a proof of the futility of Socialism!

Truly to talk private co-operation as a "stride in the right direction" is an act becoming to the cormorant lips of our labor fakirs. From Mr. Debs' mouth, from one whom we take to be at least an honorable man, such act, at this late day, reveals unpardonable levity.

Right here we may quote with profit the London "Justice" on the Carmaux matter:

"The failure of the co-operative or semi-Socialist glass works at Carmaux is no more than we anticipated. These little utopian experiments can never succeed under present conditions. What measure of success has been achieved in America by the Shakers and others has been reached in a very different way, as our Comrade Baker has pointed out in his articles on the semi-Communist societies of the United States. It is absurd to suppose that a little band of competitive Socialists—the terms themselves are contradictory—can hold their own in the rough and tumble of production for profit against the more thoroughly organized and more unscrupulous commercial antagonism of the great capitalist factory system. No Social Democrat who understands the true groundwork of his material creed could believe that such an experiment as that at Carmaux could hold its own side by side with such works as those of M. Renssieu. In this we are not wise after the event only; though the capitalist press, with its usual unscrupulous mendacity, tries to make out that the Carmaux collapse is a blow to scientific Socialism. Nothing can be more erroneous. Socialism can only be attained advantageously to the community by the conversion into public services and complete socialization of the great powers of production and distribution under the control of the whole people. That is what we are working for, and shall, in time, attain to. The Carmaux fiasco does not affect us in the least."

The strides towards the Co-operative Commonwealth lie alone along the political path, trod by the compact working class, with its eyes set upon the White House and the Capitol at Washington, and its mind made up to overthrow the whole capitalist class and return to the people the goods that have been stolen from them.

All else is jumping from the fryingpan into the fire, and from the fire back into the fryingpan.

We desire to make a suggestion to the Cleveland, O., "Citizen." Referring to the Anarchists, it says:

"We know of some who are so deep that they won't even join a union of their trade for fear of being GOVERNED."

It would have been pithier and more lucid to say that these Anarchists "won't join the unions of their trades" because an extensive experience has swept away their hopes of GOVERNING the union."

We have yet to meet or hear of the Anarchist who has not AUTOCRACY, with himself as the ready Autocrat, snugly up his sleeves. Their failure on all sides, and the dilapidated condition in which the democratic movement of Socialism is leaving them, is the cause of all the Anarchists' tears.

For once we can agree with the independence, Kans., "Star and Kansan." It declares that it would take more than a generation to get the principles of the Populist party enacted into law. Correct, and for the same reason that it would take more than a generation to cart back into Lake Itasca the waters that pour out at the mouth of the Mississippi. Populist principles are middle class principles; these principles held good a hundred years ago; to enact them into modern law requires all the effort that would be needed to carry the Mississippi back to its source. All the generations the world has yet to live would not suffice to accomplish that task. But we hardly think the "Star and Kansan" would look at it quite that way. Its theory of evolution, that, to emancipate the workers, you must vote into power the candidate of the silver mine barons who shoot the workers down, and of the small farmers, who would think the world is gone wrong if they are not allowed to skin their farm hands, is unique enough, to induce it to squander its efforts in a barren direction.

The Frankfurt, Ger., "Zeitung," a "reform" paper, is of the opinion that: "The Social Democracy (the Socialist Labor party of Germany) has a great historic mission to fulfil, to wit, to bring to the knowledge of the possessing classes the deep misery into which the working class is steeped."

This passage seems clipped from some of our own American "reform" papers. These reformers, like the societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, are positively warm in behalf of "better conditions" for wage slaves; but talk to them about abolishing wage slavery and they look at you with the same blank countenance that a man clipping the wool of his sheep would at the suggestion of letting the sheep free to enjoy their own wool.

These "reformers" are as international as the capitalist system and as the Socialist movement.

Last week's THE PEOPLE announced the result of the general vote taken upon the proposition of the National Executive Committee on the Jewish "Abendblatt" and "Arbeiterzeitung." By a majority of over 1,000 in the largest general vote yet polled, and after a very full discussion, these two papers now come under the party's control, and will henceforth bear the official stamp of the S. L. P. in the propaganda in the Jewish quarters.

The issue that brought on the proposition of the National Executive Committee, together with the emphatic decision of the party, is sometimes mistakenly considered a "peculiar one," attributable to "local conditions" only, and incidentally to "one element" in the party. The issue was and is much broader and deeper; the significance of the decision is important enough to demand a moment's consideration. This is best done by examining two of the arguments against the proposition to place the two papers under the control of the party.

The first of these was that the two papers had proved themselves staunch and loyal supporters of the party's aims and tactics; it is thereupon asked, Will the party control make them still more staunch and loyal? To which the answer is, of course, "No." Then followed the further argument that the publishing association had demonstrated its alertness and ample capacity to keep the control of the papers out of the hands of all adversaries of the party, whereupon it was again asked, Will the party control give greater strength to the association? To which the answer is again in the negative. Based upon this, it is sometimes hastily concluded that the party control is superfluous.

Herein lies the grave error of such reasoning:

The open enemies of a revolutionary party are not only not dangerous but wholesome. The opposition from such sources is aidful to a revolutionary party in the same way and for the same reason that the opposition which a bullet encounters in the air gives it steadiness. Without opposition from the foe the Socialist movement would scatter. Such, in short, are the advantages we gain from open hostility to us. The danger lies in secret, masked foes. He who pronounces himself an enemy of the Socialist movement can offer no opposition stronger than his own arguments. But he who declares himself a friend of Socialism, while he is its enemy in fact, can do positive mischief. His arguments may be ridiculous, but their power for harm lies not in them, they lie in the false pretence of him who makes them through the belief of his hearers that he is a Socialist. The unguarded are caught by a masked enemy, while an open foe throws the unguarded on their guard. The day has already dawned, when English papers that wish to rope the people into middle class movements claim that they are "Socialist" for the sole purpose of scuttling Socialism; and the day is not far when we shall see the evolution of swindle take a step further by issuing English papers that will claim to be for the S. L. P., but whose object will be none other than to retail libel and abominations against the party, under the pretext of wishing to purify it, but for the sole object of putting a spoke into its wheel with the unthinking and unguarded. The only way to prevent or check such frauds is the publication of an English paper, which, carrying the official mark of the party, will enable the masses to distinguish the true from the counterfeit article. What is true of the English reading public is equally and much more so with the reading public of other languages in this country.

The Jewish population is extensive and closely packed in some quarters of our city. It is not, in general, a population that is very well versed on the details of our movement. The "Abendblatt" and "Arbeiterzeitung" carried on Socialist propaganda and the banner of the S. L. P. among them. Suddenly another Jewish paper, the "Forward," put in its appearance, claiming to be Socialist, and claiming to be intent on "purifying" the party. It may or it may not be an accident that when a so-called convention of Jews met here a few months ago to start this new paper there were two conspicuous figures present.

First—The ex-labor fakir, Abe Harris, of the Garment Workers, who, having been driven off his union by the Socialist movement, had pulled with the politicians and got an appointment as policeman. He was there resplendent in brass buttons and swinging his club to "keep order" among the Socialists, who, it was feared, might disturb the convention; and

Second—Congressman Bradley, just elected in the Ninth Congressional District, and whom the Socialist candidate, polling over 4,000 votes, had led a wild dance. Bradley waxes re-election, fears the S. L. P. in the Ninth Congressional, and was an attentive observer of the "convention" that was to start an "opposition Socialist paper on behalf of the S. L. P.," and thus rip up the party, as he foolishly hopes.

These may have been accidents or not; but it is no accident when the new paper opposes one principle after another of the party; when it holds queer language, queerly "impartial" on the subject of Debs' plan; or when it joins the Jewish fakir leaders in deceiving the ignorant Jewish tailors with promises of victory through wild cat strikes; or yet again, when it denounces a Comrade, now a candidate for Governor in Massachusetts, and declares the party must be "kept pure" by beating the Comrade in an internal party canvass that is now going on. These are not accidents. They are deliberate acts, whose only effect must be to confuse the masses of the Jewish population upon party principles and tactics. Now, all this can do no harm unless the Jewish masses are allowed to remain in ignorance as to which of the two—"Forward" or the "Abendblatt" and "Arbeiterzeitung"—really represent the party. Until the party's decision was rendered the confusion was inevitable; since the decision, the loyal and bona fide papers carry at their head the sign of official party organs. Now no one who does not want to be deceived can be deceived as to which of the two the party speaks through, and which is true, which hostile to the party colors.

The official standing of the press that speaks for the party is a valuable means

to speak for the party.

The second argument is also practically interesting. It is claimed that by not connecting the Jewish papers with the party, the party will escape suffering from the quarrels among the Jews. Unfortunately for this argument, the party was not connected with these papers, and yet since last November it, Section New York particularly, has been kept in constant convulsions with these Jewish quarrels. The only way to "escape" them would be to put all the Jews out of the party, and that is preposterous. So long as even only two Jews are in, the party is exposed to differences among them. But here comes the important point. The differences between the Jews are not exclusively theirs. Such differences can and do break out among all the other races in the party, within themselves and among one another, regardless of race distinctions. If the party should become afraid of disturbances, or too timid to establish order by settling dissensions, there is only one way for it to have peace—go out of existence. A virile party does not, however, run away from such things; it grapples with them firmly; it distinguishes between minor and composable dissensions, on the one hand, and radical and irreconcilable differences, on the other, and treats them accordingly.

The party decision in the matter of the Jewish press expresses the party's clear view on the two important points herein mentioned, points whose importance will grow with the growth of our magnificent movement.

We are frequently being asked, What about Ben Tillet, who is expected to "visit" America incidentally, and especially to collect some stray pennies. We prefer to let Mr. Tillet answer for himself. In the course of a recent lecture he got off this:

"One of the stock arguments of those opposed to trade unionism is in the form of a question, very much as follows: 'What has trade unionism done for the worker?' And Pecksniff sits in imbecile satisfaction at having put such a poser. To ask the innocent question, as a rejoinder: 'What has Socialism done for the worker?' at once confuses the sinner. The answer is generally abuse. In this case the insincere Socialist joins hands with the 'blackleg' and the worst gradgrind of an employer, who always wants to know what trade unions have done for the worker."

Here we have the British "pure and simple" abortion in a nutshell—the Ignoramus, bluffer and blatherskite.

Our Austrian Comrades have made their debut in their national Parliament, consisting of twenty-five parties, and forthwith made their mark. Comrade Daszinski, perhaps the most conspicuous of the famous fourteen new Socialist deputies, who have, by the way, nearly 10 years of political imprisonment to their collective credit, took the first opportunity to impeach the Premier on the subject of the fraudulent elections in Galicia. He called general attention to the fact that, in this one province, during the few elections having any pretence to be popular, ten persons were killed and thirty wounded, while no less than a thousand others were arrested as the result of their temerity in wishing to exercise their right to vote.

A SCOTCHWOMAN'S WARNING.

(Written for THE PEOPLE by PETER E. BURROWS, Brooklyn.)

Men o' bonds, who bind men;
Men o' stocks, do ye ken?
Not frae me will ye have any curses;
Evolution and sense,
When removing you hence,
Maun say: "Ye were Socialist nurses."

Ye did verra weel
For to pick an' to steal,
An' to gie us yon merciless maulin';
Ye couldna' do better
Than mak' us your debtor
By provin' how far we had fallen.

But this fact is a fact
By necessity backed,
Though the news, mebbins, strike ye
Some sairly;
Without further pretence
You must earn your pence,
For the Socialist mill is rin fairly.

"Ah, me!" and "Oh, me!"
Full sair is your grieve,
Even geese will no longer take cramming;
"Let me pine a few years
On my own fat and tears,
This growth of intelligence damning."

Ye may pine, ye may pine,
For the sins o' langsyne;
For ye were pining to mend 'em;
But whether ye weep
To leave or to keep,
The votes of "The People" will end 'em.

Nay, nay, ye're na sold;
There's na wouf in yer fold;
'Tis only the workmen—thinking,
And full was the hour
When ye looked him so dour,
And fools were the millionaires—blink-
ing.

It's na use, its na use,
With gamblers to truce;
The worthless can never be sayvit.
On adversity's tide,
With the bums ye must glide,
Though ye call yersels sons o' King
David.

There's a labor that's light;
There's a burden that's right;
Work is good when the doing abates it.
But curst be the toil
Which creates only spoil,
Which crushes the man that creates it.

"How queer, an' how queer,"
Our children shall speer,
"That idlers frae fullness were spewin';
With gaunt famine for fief,
And death for relief,
Had labor for all of its doin'."

But hooray, and hooray,
For the Socialist day,
Your fetters and stripes we are scorn-
ing;
Who remembers the night
When the fingers of light
Are bringing us health and the morning.



UNCLE SAM & BROTHER JONATHAN.

Brother Jonathan—The Socialists make a great mistake in agitating so much among the workmen and so little among the rich people.

Uncle Sam—In how far is that a mistake?

B. J.—Because there are more capitalists among the workmen than among the capitalists.

U. S.—Hey? Say that again.

B. J.—You don't believe it?

U. S.—What?

B. J.—That there are piles of capitalists among the workmen.

U. S.—No; I don't believe it. I can no more believe it than I can believe that a Zulu can be a man of Caucasian race.

B. J.—Now, there you have it. Your answer helps me to make clear my point. You Socialists draw the lines too sharp; you don't allow anything for sentiment, and what that implies.

U. S.—Make your point.

B. J.—I claim that a capitalist is a man who has the vicious instinct of a bloodsucker, a man who is anxious to live at the expense of others. That's what I call a capitalist. And for that reason I say there are lots of workingmen who are capitalists. The man who would live upon others is to all intents and purposes a capitalist.

U. S.—And the man who will make such a statement is to all intents and purposes a muddlehead.

B. J.—Muddlehead, yourself!

U. S.—Would you not like to be a millionaire?

B. J.—Of course I would; think of all the good time I would have!

U. S.—And why don't you take that good time?

B. J.—How you talk! How can I TAKE that good time if I have not the money of a millionaire?

U. S.—But a millionaire is a man who would like to be one. The man who would like to take a good time is to all intents and purposes a millionaire.

B. J.—Nonsense, my wishing to be a millionaire don't make me one; to be one I must own a million dollars.

U. S.—It follows that sentiment has nothing to do with case?

B. J.—Nothing whatever.

U. S.—Nothing short of the hard material cash or its equivalent will make a man a millionaire?

B. J.—Nothing short of that; any fool can see that.

U. S.—And yet it seems that any fool, you among them, can't see that nothing short of capital can make a man a capitalist.

B. J.—But if—

U. S.—A capitalist is a man who lives on the sweat of the brow of others, eh?

B. J.—Certainly.

U. S.—He likes that—

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—As much as you would like the good time that a million dollars would give you?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Could you have that good time without the million?

B. J.—No.

U. S.—No more can one live on the sweat of the brow of others unless he owns the necessary capital. To be a millionaire, one must have the million; to be a capitalist, you must have the capital.

B. J.—That's all right. But what I mean is that the Socialists should spend more time in improving the moral sense of the workmen. Instead of spending so much time in showing them how the capitalist skins them, they should be lectured upon the wickedness of skinning.

U. S.—What good will that alone do them?

B. J.—It will make Socialists out of them—

U. S.—There you give me the proof of how necessary it is to stick to the right terminology in order to arrive at the right tactics. Go about lecturing upon the wickedness of skinning without showing how it is that the skinning is done, and you will fail to show your hearers how to get out of this wicked system of skinning. You will be looked upon as a pretty and entertaining talker, but you won't get your hearers one inch nearer to their emancipation. Leave the Socialists alone for knowing what they are about.

LETTER BOX.

Cfhand Answers to Inquirers.

Peter E. Burrows, Brooklyn.—Do you remember in what issue of THE PEOPLE appeared the article of which the parts that you inquire after were paragraphs? That would aid in finding them.

R. L. N. Y.—If you do not find them unaided, our aid would be bootless, without we first went into a definition of terms.

L. S. T., Cleveland, O.—The general vote on the party's delegate to the convention of the S. T. & L. A. closes July 1.

M. Winchewsky, N. Y.—Your article assailing Comrade A. S. Brown for writing and THE PEOPLE for publishing the letter on Ed. King is rejected. THE PEOPLE is not here to confuse the minds of its readers with travesties of facts, twistings of its own articles or encomiums on the queers of the labor movement in America.

S., Philadelphia.—The matter is received. Shall see what we can do with it.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

VIEWED BY A SOCIALIST.

An Address delivered by G. B. Leonard before the Minneapolis Section of the Socialist Labor Party, on April 12, 1897.

(Conclusion.)

"Patriotic enthusiasm called into existence many societies for the protection and encouragement of industrial undertakings," says G. D. Wright, page 132. "The world looks bright, and poetic inspiration and unbounded enthusiasm fill the heart of the capitalist at the discovery that profits can be pumped out of living bodies. He runs wild with 'patriotism' when a new field is opened for exploitation. Every attempt to interfere with it is an insult to the national flag. Everybody engaged in it or helping it becomes a martyr, who sacrifices his individual interests at the shrine of national welfare and glory, and is extolled by historians and poets as the benefactor of the nation. Everyone who in any way resists this freedom of exploitation commits an act of treason."

At this juncture a little machine was invented by a young man which in the long run was to free the slave and help to enslave the freeman. It was the cotton-gin, invented by Eli Whitney in 1793. This was not an invention of mere chance, and, like all others, it was the logical improvement on the manifold contrivances then being introduced into textile production both in England and in this country. It was the great need of the planters of cotton and of the manufacturers. The mouse in this case seems to have brought forth a mountain. The gin consisted of a small mechanism for the separation of the fibre from the seed. Prior to its introduction it took one day's labor to separate a pound of the clean staple from the seed. The gin increased the productivity of labor from one hundred to one thousand times. In 1791 the crop of cotton was less than 200,000 pounds. In 1801 it leaps to the enormous figure of 21,000,000 pounds, and in 1855 it was more than 2,000,000,000 pounds, an increase of ten thousand times. The naive enthusiasm of the Southern abolitionists commenced to wane away, and their societies rapidly to dwindle as soon as the profitable effects of Whitney's invention began to be manifest. Whitney, as a matter of course, shared the fate of most inventors. He died in poverty.

Cotton becomes the "King of the South." Slavery pays better than before, and slaves are again imported in great numbers. The development of textile industries in England and the New England States greatly stimulated by this invention, in their turn encourage the raising of cotton. The South is converted into cotton fields. A hunger for new territory for the raising of this staple seizes the Southerner. Filibustering expeditions are set afoot against Cuba, Mexico and Central America. Finally the nation is dragged into a costly war with Mexico with no other motive than the lust for territorial extension. The Southwest becomes a part of United States dominion. Cotton raising is extended into the new territory and slavery with it. The hunger is stilled; the passions soothed.

The influx of immigrants from Europe, with fresh muscles for sale, ignored and passed by the South. The free wage slave could not compete with the chattel slave. At the same time the white population of the South was dwindling down. The Southerner who enriched by his slaves, intended to invest "his" capital into a manufacturing enterprise, on one side could not depend on slave labor; on the other, he could not get enough cheap free labor. He had to go North. Those who had small capital or none went West or North, where land was cheap or positions could be secured. Slavery thus became an obstacle for the development of capitalist industry in the South—though her natural resources allured both the Southern and Northern capitalist.

The rise in price of cotton immediately upon the close of the Mexican War turned the whole energy of the South into a reckless and breakneck policy of consumption of territory and slaves for the raising of cotton. The size of plantations grew enormously, and in the same degree increased the power and effrontery of the Southern chivalry. An economic disaster was unavoidable.

On the other hand, capitalism in the North needed bounties and tariffs for the "protection and encouragement" of American capitalists against foreign competition, while the South, being a consuming country, wanted free trade, because it could buy and sell goods more satisfactorily in foreign markets. The tariff question becomes the bone of contention between the Northern capitalists and the Southern slave-barons, and gives rise to frequent threats of secession during the first half of this century. At last, encouraged by the favorable condition of the cotton market just prior to the Civil War, the slaveholding States, shielded by "Law and Constitution," risk all on a political coup d'état, and secede. Their attempt, however, proves unsuccessful. The South is beaten in the war.

While slave labor still paid in raising cotton on a large scale, it could not pay in industrial enterprises as carried on at the time. The expansion of industry demanded its abolition, and "the sum of all villainies," as the abolitionists called it, was removed. It is safe to say that if the interests of the Northern capitalists had exercised a lesser influence, slavery would sooner or later have been abolished anyhow—not because of the growth of Christian sentiment among the planters, or spread of liberal ideas on freedom and equality of men, or of ideals of eternal justice and right. No. Slavery was becoming expensive. It was costing to pay since the wageworker proved a "better property making machine." (L. Morgan.)

It was computed by a former president of a South Carolina college, that a negro, all hazards included and all earnings deducted, would cost at the age of 21, to the person who raised him,

at the very least \$500. Here, consequently, an investment must be made in the man before his labor can be exploited. No such outlays are required for wage-labor. The unprofitableness of slave labor in comparison with wage-labor was demonstrated from time to time by many Southern writers. Benjamin Franklin draws attention to this side of the question in his "Essay on Peopling of Nations," and David Hume gives good plain reasons early in the Eighteenth Century: "I shall add that, from the experience of our planters, slavery is as little advantageous to the master as to the slave wherever hired servants can be procured. A man is obliged to clothe and feed his slave; and he does no more for his servant. The price of the first purchase is, therefore, so much loss to him; not to mention THAT THE FEAR OF PUNISHMENT WILL NEVER DRAW SO MUCH LABOR FROM A SLAVE AS THE DREAD OF BEING TURNED OFF, AND NOT GETTING ANOTHER SERVICE, WILL FROM A FREEMAN." (See Essay on "Populousness of Ancient Nations.")

It is almost certain that the border States would have gradually freed their slaves if they had been left to themselves. In 1830 the Virginia Convention fell short only by a few votes of adopting measures intended to abolish slavery in that State. The antagonism of interests between the Northern capitalist class and the Southern slave-barons only hastened the solution of the "irrepressible conflict." Capitalist production reached a point where slavery became a bar to its further expansion, and the negro was credited with the same "inalienable rights" which were guaranteed to the whites before, and with the same freedom to assert them. He was free to do with what he had what he pleased. But he had nothing. He had no property, no merchandise to sell, except one kind, the merchandise which was inseparable from his body, and by selling which he must sell himself—his labor power.

Though the Civil War had for its motto "Union Forever," its significance lay in the fact that the capitalist form of production, based on the exploitation of a "free" man, a man free from all necessities of life, free from all means of subsistence, was struggling with an old system of exploitation, already collapsing of its own weight, which was an obstacle to a further expansion of Capitalist exploitation. The Civil War marks an industrial revolution. It completed the work of the revolution of the last century. The South was invaded by modern capitalism, and millions of negroes were turned into its refined shambles. Mills, factories, mines and railroads grew up alongside of plantations, and the whip of commercialism leaves at this moment more cruel marks upon the backs of the "nigger" than the whip of the slave-driver ever did.

Since the war, capitalism has here made strides unparalleled in any country on earth. "One of the main reasons is to be found in the fact that while in Europe the capitalist class had to maintain a struggle with the remnants of feudalism, and hence seldom had full control of the governmental machinery, here, since the formation of the Union, capitalism had almost full sway over the affairs of the nation. The opposition it met with was in the Southern slaveholder. But the Civil War destroyed this last obstruction. The United States Government became a capitalist institution par excellence."

The increase and concentration of wealth during the last few years is enormous. Under the pressure of modern labor-saving machinery, the small handicraftsman gave way to the large factory, where work is carried on collectively by thousands of men. **THOUGH THE PRODUCT OF LABOR HAS BECOME THE PRODUCT OF A COLLECTIVITY, THE OWNER OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION STILL CONTINUES TO APPROPRIATE AND OWN IT.**

With great concentration of wealth, the capitalist is no more managing or superintending the establishment. He delegates these duties to a set of hired employees. The capitalist becomes a parasite. He performs no useful function whatever in social production. The stockholder of a modern corporation knows nothing or very little of what and how things are produced in the mill that he is a stockholder of. He receives his dividends, however, by virtue of his ownership of the means of production. You may put the owners of our mines, mills and railroads into insane asylums, or lock them up for misbehavior—dividends will not stop flowing into their rich coffers.

The capitalist class is steadily diminishing in numbers. The working class, on the other hand, grows in numbers. With its growth the numbers of unemployed grow. The market of the capitalist narrows down.

It is the law of the capitalist system that, in order to survive, the capitalist must increase his establishment. He does so by reinvesting the surplus value stolen from the wageworkers. But before he can reinvest it, he must first sell his goods. The purchasing capacity of the working class is limited to the amount of wages it receives. According to the census of 1890, the wages of the employees in manufacturing establishments amounted to \$1,620,302,558, or 52 per cent. of the new product went for wages, and 48 for profits. Similar proportions exist in mining, trade and transportation. Subtract the tributes the working class has to pay to the retailer, to all kinds of agents and sharks, and its real wages are less than 25 per cent. of what it actually produces. The home market must prove inadequate. The capitalist looks for a foreign market. But he soon discovers that the situation there is the same as here. A panic follows. Mills close. Men, women and children starve in the midst of plenty. Do the wheels of industry stop running because there

people go barefooted because of lack of shoes or lack of machinery and materials to produce them? No. They stop because surplus value cannot be pumped out of them for a time. They stop because the owners of those materials and tools find the running of the mills unprofitable for themselves, there being no market for their goods. Society gets suffocated because it has too many good things. "Already," says Engels, "the new powers of production have grown over the head of the capitalist form of their utilization."

Society is like everything else in nature. It develops, it expands. When the power of expansion of water shut up in a cylinder begins to increase through the generation of heat, the form of water changes; it becomes steam, which bursts the narrow walls within which it is inclosed. When a chicken is being hatched out, it does so by reason of the increased heat. The substance of the egg remains the same, but its form changes. There is a gradual evolution of the yolk into a living substance. The food of the animal nature has provided in the white surrounding the yolk. The animal grows. The shell of the egg, however, does not expand with the growth of the animal inside. At a certain point it becomes too narrow for the further growth of the chicken. The shell is broken, and the chicken is hatched out. But the chicken is alive long before it cracks the shell. It does not break it as long as it can exist and develop under the shell. But when it can do so no more, then the shell is broken.

The same is true with regard to all economic categories. Every economic system bears in its womb the germ of a new system, that must succeed it.

The function of productive forces of society in social evolution corresponds with the functions of heat in evolution in the physical world. We have seen how the exclusiveness of primitive communism, limiting it to the narrow bounds of a tribe or other social unit, led to EXCHANGE of commodities, which ultimately resulted in the ascendancy of private property, with its race and class feuds; how slavery and serfdom became to be substituted with the discovery of new methods of production by the wage system. And now, the antagonism between the collective form of production, conjured up by the increased productive powers of mankind, and the individual appropriation of the product of labor becomes more and more apparent, and is dissolving itself into a violent antagonism of irreconcilable and diametrically opposite interests of two classes: the capitalist and the wage-working class. The lines are being drawn sharper and sharper each day. Concentration of wealth does that. "Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. The integument is burst asunder. The knell of private capitalist property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated." ("Capital," K. Marx, p. 487.)

"Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht" said a German poet. (Universal history is the final judgment.) Capitalism is doomed to disappear. Such is the solemn judgment pronounced by history, which imposes the duties of executioner upon the working class. Let the capitalist class beware of the sentence hanging over their heads. It is their turn now to take the medicine they have kept themselves and their hirelings busy with administering to the working class, for over a century. Let them be meek. Let them submit to their fate. History listens to no apologies, nor is she delicate in her procedure!

But history offers no example of a class ever giving up its privileges unless it was forced to. The working class must get control of the political powers and dispossess the capitalist class of the means of production and distribution stolen from the nation, and make them the collective property of all. Socialism must come. It is the legitimate child of capitalism. The historic mission of the Socialist Labor Party, "the baby figure of the giant mass of things to come," is not to invent Socialism, but to lessen the birth pangs of the new civilization. Its mission is that of Peace.

Looking back into the ages gone by, we will find perhaps hardly more than a long list of crimes, suffering, misery and misfortunes man has inflicted upon his fellow man; that every advance in civilization was an advance in brutality, wrapped in the dark and mysterious cloak of "law" and Pharisaic veil of holiness; that what would be an abhorrence for the present generation was taught, preached and practised only a generation or so ago, and that what is practised now will become the subject of rightful indignation of generations to come. But let us "not weep for the past nor fear the future."

Though the long path of civilization is strewn with innumerable corpses of men, women and children whose only crime was that of having been made poor; though misery and oppression continue to accumulate wherever accumulation of wealth goes on; though virtue, love and beauty still yield to the enticing sound of money, though commercialism has become a source of pollution, which contaminates every temple of art, science and literature; yet Socialism goes surging on irresistibly, opening the doors of civilization to the feet of aspiration of every new-comer, and unfold her red banner of human brotherhood to the breezes of a new morning in the world.

S. L. P. Sections take Notice.

The well-known and inspiring song, written by comrade Peter E. Burrows, of Brooklyn, under the title "The Hand with the Hammer," has been set to new and beautiful music by the Russian composer Platon Brounoff, and can now be had at the Labor News Co., 64 East 4th street, New York.

The price for single copies is 10 cents, but a liberal discount will be given to dealers, encouraging them to push the sale of the song.

No section of the party should fail to form a chorus and sing this song at their public meetings and other public demonstrations.

THE LABOR NEWS CO.,
64 East 4th street, N. Y.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

That Demonstrate the Accuracy of Socialist Teachings.

The charge is often made by conservative-minded people, who regard Socialism as unnecessary, that our utterances are merely the exaggerated and passion-prompted outpouring of wild "calamity howlers." Such unthinking people are quite unaware of the fact that the Socialist who has arrived at his opinion by means of observing social and economic phenomena, in his endeavor to be correct, rather understates than exaggerates the appalling industrial and moral condition of the wage worker. This is proved by the latest bulletin issued by the Government Department of Labor for the month of May, 1897, and edited by Carroll D. Wright.

The following is an extract from an article in that document, entitled: "Work and Wages of Men, Women and Children." It says: "The agents of the department secured information through the schedule method from 1,067 establishments of various kinds located in 39 different States. A total of 42,990 males and 51,529 females, or an aggregate of 94,529 persons in all were found employed in these establishments during the former period; and 68,380 males and 79,987 females, or an aggregate of 148,367 persons during the present period. By 'present period' in this report is meant some week in the period during which the canvass was made—that is the years 1895 and 1896, and by 'former period' is meant some week antedating by at least ten years the week selected in 1895 and 1896."

The above extract proves plainly that when Socialists state that the workers are increasing, and hence the non-workers decreasing, they are not exaggerating, inasmuch as it demonstrates that during a period of ten years the workers in the States and industries specified have increased from 94,529 in 1886 to 148,367 in 1896, and furthermore, this significant fact is made apparent that while the number of toilers has increased in the aggregate the number of females employed has exceeded in its increased ratio that of the males. This is made more startlingly evident by the figures contained in a table on page 239, same report. The tabulated figures in question refer to the State in which statistics were collected, number of establishments visited, number of employees, their ages and sexes, and is a comparison between their number in the former and present period. I select two typical States, one in which I live—New York; the other Pennsylvania, the latter being considered by many to be the most flourishing State in the East. In New York State 211 establishments were visited at both periods. The number of males 18 years or over employed in these establishments 10 years ago was 5,522; at the present period it is 7,689, an increase in number of 2,167, and an increase per cent. of 39.2. The number of males under 18 years (this means children of very tender years, as proven in this report) was in the former period 428; at the present period it is 720, an increase in number of 292, in per cent. 68.2. The females 18 years or over employed at former period in 211 establishments visited numbered 8,251; in the present period they are found to be 11,054, an increase in number of 2,803, in per cent. 34.0. Female children under 18 years at former period numbered 995; at present they are 1,904, a numerical increase of 909; per cent. increase 91.4. When we remember that this 91.4 increase is principally young girls, we become convinced that the bestial Minotaur, which is said to have lurked in the labyrinth of ancient Crete is still in our midst in the form of capitalism demanding its annual sacrifice of tender and pure young maidens.

The figures in the same table relating to Pennsylvania are as follows: The number of establishments visited was in both periods of inquiry 129, including, as in New York factories, mines, workshops, stores, etc. Number of males employed 18 years of age or over in former period was 4,152; at present it is 6,758; numerical increase, 2,606; per cent. increase, 62.8. Males under 18 years, 598 in the former period; now 1,342; increase in number, 444; in per cent., 49.4. The number of females 18 years or over was in former period 3,624; it was increased to 7,034, an increase in number of 3,410; in per cent. of 94.1. Females under 18 years employed in specified industries in former period numbered 1,447; now they have increased to 2,490; numerical increase 1,043; increase per cent., 72.1.

These figures speak for themselves, and they teach a more pointed lesson in Socialism than even the most eloquent speaker. The disproportionate increase in the number of women and children employed, as compared to men, becomes more terribly significant of the industrial degeneracy of the workers when we read on page 254 the extremely small pittance paid to female and child labor as compared with the larger wage earned by the men, whose places they are so rapidly taking. The report summarizes the comparative earnings of men, women and children on page 254 as follows: "Taking up the totals shown we see that out of 782 instances in which men, women and children work at the same occupation and perform their work with the same degree of efficiency, men receive greater pay in 595 or 76.1 per cent. of the instances, and women receive greater pay in 129 or 16.5 per cent., while in 58 instances, or 7.4 per cent., they receive the same pay for the same kind of work. The men receive 50.1 per cent. greater pay than the women in 595 instances in which they are given greater pay, while the women receive but 10.3 per cent. greater pay in the 129 instances in which they are paid higher wages. Out of the 228 instances in which men, women and children work at the same occupation with a like degree of efficiency, men receive greater pay in 182, or 79.8 per cent. of the instances, and children receive greater pay in 24 or 10.5 per cent. of the instances, while in 22 or 9.7 per cent. of the instances they receive the same pay for the same work performed with the same degree of efficiency. The men receive 57.7 per cent. greater pay than the children in the 182 instances in which they are paid more, while the children receive but 8.6 per cent. greater pay in the 24 instances in which they are paid higher wages."

This increase in the number of female employees lead to an inquiry into its cause, and the following reasons were given why women were preferred: "The reasons for the preference for women

being their greater adaptability for the work for which they were employed. It is also stated that they are more reliable, more easily controlled, cheaper, more temperate, more easily procurable, neater, more rapid, more industrious, more careful, more polite, less liable to strike, learn more rapidly, etc." Observe the disgusting suggestiveness of some of these qualifications. **MORE EASILY PROCURABLE.** How significant this phrase is of the abominably unprintable!

This lowering of the economic status naturally has its corollary in a lowering of the moral standard, and this fact is painfully and brutally manifested when we turn to page 250 of this report, which contains an inquiry into the conjugal condition of female labor. The report on the page in question reads as follows: "It is found that the married women constitute 13.16 per cent. of all the women engaged in the occupations of the country. The largest per centage in any one class of occupations is found in agriculture, fisheries and mining, where it is 22.51. This is largely due to the fact that many colored women are employed in these industries. The smallest percentage of married women, 6.94, is to be found in professional and mechanical industries 10.68 per cent. are married. This percentage corroborates the observations of many investigators of the subject. It has rarely been given as over 10 per cent."

In Kautsky's work, entitled "The Class Struggle," we find truly stated on page 5, chapter 11: "The more skillfully the menial accommodates and adapts himself to his master, i. e., the more completely he succeeds in wiping out his own individuality and the greater his success in outstripping his fellows in this ignoble race, all the better are his prospects. Again, the larger the income of the master and the greater his power and distinction, all the more plentiful are the pickings for his menials; this holds good especially with regard to those menials who are held for show, whose only task is to make a parade of the superfluities which their master enjoys, to assist him in squandering his wealth, and to stand true and loyal by him throughout his career of folly and of crime. Accordingly, the modern servant—the breed of menials we now meet wherever large capitalists settle down, is drawn into peculiar relations of intimacy with his master, and he has, as a matter of course, developed into a secret foe to the exploited and oppressed working people; not infrequently he excels even his master in the reckless treatment of these."

The report under consideration states that the number of servants employed has decreased from 42.9 per cent. in 1870 to 38.24 in 1890, thus proving that the number of those dependent and servile menials, unfriendly to the working class on account of their intimate connection with the exploiters, is being reduced as the number of the possessors who employ them becomes lessened. With this reduction in the number of that class called by Kautsky enemies of the class struggle, we naturally conclude that the struggle becomes more imminent and intense, and the proletariat more powerful on account of their increased numbers to conduct it.

With the decrease in menials, we find, strange to say, an increase of women and children in certain occupations and callings for which they are physically and morally unfitted. The number of women and children employed in agriculture, fisheries and mining (sic) rose from 6.47 per cent. in 1870 to 7.54 per cent. in 1890. These figures mean that the Italian, Belgian and French woman, degraded, hardened and unsexed by severe and uncongenial labor, has now her representative on the American farms, and that the grimy, stalwart, hideous women who go down with the men, attired like them, to the coal mines of France and England, and who are described so vividly by Emil Zola in "Germinal," are now to be seen in the coal regions of Pennsylvania. This decrease in the number of menials—this increase in the number of women who toil with and supplant eventually men in most laborious occupations, mean that they, with the men, will become more desperate and revolutionary on account of their suffering and degradation, and more liable to receive those Socialist truths which mean their emancipation, and which are the only hope of all the proletariat, and among them of

JAMES ALLMAN.

New York.

Swedish Comrades' Excursion.

Every Comrade who wants to find out how Swedish people amuse themselves when out together to spend a day away from the dust of the city streets ought to partake in the excursion that our Swedish Comrades are arranging to Laurelton Grove, L. I. Sound, on the 27th instant. The income will go to the Swedish organ, "Arbetaren," which is bravely held up by the Swedish Comrades, and is doing good work by teaching Socialism to an intelligent and reflecting people, who begin to have gotten enough of all kinds of capitalist prosperity. This year is the third volume of "Arbetaren," and it is to be hoped that its worst difficulties are passed over, though there is still required hard work to keep it going.

Every ticket sold for the excursion aids our Comrades in their struggle and helps along the cause.

The steamer Sirius leaves Pier 1, Battery, at 8 a. m.; Bridge Dock, foot of Fulton street, Brooklyn, at 8:30, and foot of 31st street, New York, at 9 a. m., Sunday, June 27. Tickets, 50 cents; children under 12 years of age free.

New York, Attention.

Next Saturday evening the General Committee of Greater New York meets in regular session at 64 East 4th street. All the delegates should be on time.

To Irish Comrades.

All the copies of the pamphlet "The Rights of Ireland and the Faith of a Felon," received from Dublin from the Irish Socialist Republican Party, have been sold out; and there only remain on hand samples of the handsome green due card of the Irish Socialist Republican Party, which can be had at 5 cents each from

Labor News Co.,
64 E. 4th street, New York City.

PARTY NEWS.

Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

National Executive Committee.

Session of June 15th, with Comrade Matchett in the chair. All present. The financial report for the week ending June 12th shows receipts to have been \$69.55, expenditures \$78.05, deficit for the week \$8.50.

Comrade Verro has been sent to Providence for one week, where a strike among Italian laborers offers an opportunity for propaganda. A call to the Jewish members of the party is read and ordered printed in the Jewish papers and THE PEOPLE. Through a clerical error the vote of Section Gloversville, N. Y., did not appear on the tabulated account giving the vote on the Jewish press matter. Since the Section cast 14 votes in favor of the proposition, the total vote in favor would be 1,541, instead of 1,527, as previously reported. A letter from the editor of the Italian paper, "Il Proletario," announces its suspension. The vote on filling the vacancy in the National Executive Committee having resulted in the election of Comrade Isaac Bennett, the secretary is instructed to notify the Comrade to hereafter attend the sessions of the committee. All Sections that have not as yet settled for the London Congress assessment are hereby called upon to make a report forthwith, returning all stamps that have not been used and paying for the balance.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Secy.

Result of the General Vote by the Sections of Greater New York to Fill the Vacancy caused by the Resignation of Comrade Charles B. Copp.

Name of Section.	L. Bennett.	C. F. F. F.	A. Henry.	N. Zant.
Evergreen	11	3	2	254
Glendale	6	3	2	254
Long Island City	13	2	2	254
City of New York	364	51	15	254
New York, Seand.	12	3	2	254
Williamsburg	14	3	2	254
Woodhaven, No. 1	3	4	1	254
Wyckoff Heights	12	3	2	254
Total	435	63	16	254

Comrade Isaac Bennett, having received the highest number of votes, is hereby declared duly elected a member of the National Executive Committee.

HENRY KUHN, Secy.

A Call for a City Convention of the Socialist Labor Party of the City of New York.

A City Convention to nominate candidates for Mayor, Comptroller and President of Council of the City of New York, will be held on Saturday, July 17th, 1897, at 8 p. m., at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street, Borough of Manhattan. All Assembly Districts, Wards and Branches of Section Greater New York, of the Socialist Labor Party, and the following Sections of the S. L. P., situated within the territory of the city of New York, viz.: Williamsburg, Glendale, Wyckoff Heights, Woodhaven, Long Island City and College Point, are hereby requested to call primaries in their respective political sub-divisions, to elect delegates for such convention. The mode of representation at the convention of organizations represented in Section Greater New York, S. L. P., as now constituted in the General Committee, to be one delegate for each Assembly District, Ward or Branch, and one additional delegate for every twenty members in good standing, subject to the financial report of Secretary ending December, 1896.

By order of the Executive Committee of Section Greater New York, S. L. P.

L. ABELSON, Organizer.

N. Y. Primaries.

Primaries will be held next week in the following Assembly Districts and Branches in the Borough of Manhattan to elect delegates to a city convention of the Socialist Labor Party of the City of New York, to be held on Saturday, July 17, at 8 p. m., at 64 East 4th street, Borough of Manhattan:

Monday, June 21.
1st, 3d and 5th Districts, at 455 West Broadway.

22d District, at 216 East 41st street.

Tuesday, June 22.

16th Assembly District, at 98 Ave. C.

15th and 17th Assembly Districts, at 437 West 53d street.

19th Assembly District, at 849 10th avenue.

Wednesday, June 23, 8 p. m.

18th Assembly District, at 246 1st avenue.

30th Assembly District, at 206 East 86th street.

Friday, June 25, 8 p. m.

4th Assembly District, at 209 East Broadway.

8th Assembly District, at 48 Orchard street.

9th Assembly District, at 288 10th avenue.

12th Assembly District, at 112 Clinton street.

13th Assembly District, at 342 West 42d street.

Saturday, June 26, 8 p. m.

32d Assembly District, at 204 East 101st street.

Pennsylvania.

5th ANNUAL STATE CONVENTION OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY, STATE PENNSYLVANIA.

PITTSBURGH, Pa., May 30.—The convention was opened at 10:20 a. m. by the Treasurer of State Committee H. Rehder, in the absence of State Secretary Anderson.

Comrade H. Peters, of Allegheny, was elected chairman pro tem.

Comrade Ed. Kuppinger was elected secretary pro tem.

The chair then appointed Comrades Keller and Marinocourt as a Committee on Credentials. After a recess of ten minutes the Committee on Credentials reported having credentials from the following delegates:

Philadelphia—Ed. Kuppinger, Fred. Long, Max Keller, Adolf Alberti, Leon

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Fish, J. De Bruyn, Henry Rehder, Harry Parker.
Pittsburgh—John R. Root, Albrecht Berg, Max Hammerly, A. Monkiewicz, Ign. Pazkowsky.
Allegheny—Henry Peter.
Jeannette—John G. Smith, Flory Marinocourt, Rud. Kindler.
Bradock—M. Grossman.
Buena Vista—William H. Thomas.
Allentown and Bethlehem—J. Engelhart.
West Newton—And. Koschik.
Collingsburg—Jos. Hunter.
Twenty-two delegates in all. The report was received and delegates seated.

REPORT OF STATE COMMITTEE.

Comrades—Your State Committee report the following:
Agitation has been carried on as far as means have been available. Over 30,000 leaflets of various kinds have been spread through the State; speakers have been sent to several points in the State, and the result has proven satisfactory; nineteen new Sections have been added to the Socialist column in this State during the last twelve months with an increased membership of about 500. The party stands to-day in the State of Pennsylvania with 35 Sections in good standing—an increase of 17 over twelve months ago.

Therefore your State Committee sees the necessity of offering the following:
Through the greed of the capitalist parties the working class is put in a more miserable condition year by year; no promises of our great political parties have bettered the condition of the working class, therefore we Socialists, representing the working class strictly upon a class-conscious basis for the betterment of the proletariat, have entered the political field. The capitalist system has taken from the workers the tools and the means of production; has given to the capitalists absolute control of the necessities of life, and we enter our protest against the tyrannical sway of the capitalist class towards the working class. Political action is a winning policy because the same overwhelming economic power of capital makes also more overwhelming the numerical superiority of the working class, that is, its potentiality in the political field. Workers who do not see their true economic situation consequently do not understand their political necessity, give their support to parties controlled by the capitalists, and thus the capitalists are enabled, by the blindness of the workers themselves, to take advantage of their economic power and the political power, they have the courts, the military and the police to subdue the workers, and, by the way, that is what is called "law and order."

Therefore, to enlighten the workers upon a true economic basis, we must advocate the principles of Socialism far and wide. The time is now at hand when Socialist propaganda will take good hold amongst the people, as lately proven by Comrade Fizer and others in the State of Pennsylvania. Our party has increased considerably, but it could increase a hundred fold more if we had steady agitators in the State. Therefore your State Committee recommends:
First—That the Sections do their utmost in raising funds towards agitation. Now is the best time to agitate while all political fakes are slumbering.
Second—Literature must be provided for, liberally and spread amongst the people as much as possible; it will plow the soil and lighten the work of organization.
Third—To lighten the work of your State Committee, the State Committee recommends that centres, composing two, three or more Sections, should unite under a Central Committee, and such Central Committee to attend to the outside business for the whole. It would bring about a better and more solid organization, and lighten the work considerably for your committee.
Fourth—The steady increase of our party has required from the officers of your State Committee considerable attention. Your State Committee therefore deems it necessary to remunerate officers of said committee.
Fraternally,

THE STATE COMMITTEE.

Permanent Organization was then effected by electing Harry Parker, of Philadelphia, chairman, and Edward Kuppinger, of Philadelphia, recording secretary.

Albrecht Berg, of Pittsburgh, was elected German secretary.
After an address of welcome was delivered by Comrade Frank Gessner, of Pittsburgh, and the band had played the "Marschallaise," the report of the Secretary of the State Committee was read and referred to the respective committees. The chair appointed the following committees:

Committee on Audit—J. Root, A. Alberti and Thomas.
Committee on Rules—F. Long, M. Keller, H. Peters.
Committee on Press—Ed. Kuppinger, A. Berg.
Committee on Resolutions—L. Flisto, M. Hammerly, J. De Bruyn.
Committee on Ways and Means—J. Smith, F. Marinocourt, Grossman.
Committee on Officers' Report—F. Long, J. Hunter and C. Parker.
Committee on Constitution—J. De Bruyn, R. Kindler, I. Pazkowsky.

REPORTS OF BRANCHES.
Organizer Fish reported for Philadelphia: They have organized American Branch No. 2; German Branch is steadily increasing its membership; French and Flemish are doing good work; Jewish has internal dissensions on account of endorsing an opposition newspaper; Southwark shows signs of increased vigor, expect to form an American Branch; Kensington Branch is not in a prosperous condition on account of formation of 33d Ward Club, which has taken a great many of its members.
Pittsburgh—Is getting along splen-

didly considering the great number of unemployed in their ranks. They have rented the Labor Lyceum Hall, where agitation meetings are held every Sunday afternoon and a business meeting once a month. Their agitation meetings have been very successful; they, the American Branch, have 27 members in good standing; lost a great many because of lack of employment. The German Section is progressing very nicely; admits new members every Sunday; have 45 members in good standing. South Side is carrying on good agitation; Polish Branch offered resolutions, which were referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Jeannette.—They have plenty of good workers, but a bad field to work in, as the wage workers of Jeannette are glass blowers, making good wages comparatively, therefore not class-conscious, they consider themselves part of the middle class, with expectations of something going to happen whereby they will rise higher. But machinery has already been introduced, which no doubt will bring them to their senses in short order.

Allentown and Bethlehem.—These Sections are doing all right, only they have a great many members who do not understand the principles of Socialism; they hope to meet with better success in the future.

Bradock.—Is a young Section, with 51 members in good standing; this is a very good field to develop Socialistic ideas, and they are of the opinion that it would pay to send an organizer there, especially among the Poles.

Buena Vista.—Reports 16 good standing members; the most of them work in the mines and are members of the United Mineworkers' Union; they have held out the hand of fellowship to the Italians who work with them, and think that in the near future, with the aid of the miners from Blysdale and Duffies they can form a Mineworkers' Union of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.

West Newton.—Reports having 14 members in good standing; not making much progress; not having any candidates in the field at last election, some of the members worked and voted for the candidates of the other parties. The chairman set them right on this point.

Collingsburg.—Reports having 14 members in good standing, but only two English speaking; think that they could organize a good Swedish Section if they had the material.

COMMITTEE ON RULES.

Reported as follows:
1.—Communications.
2.—Reports of Committees.
3.—Nominations.
4.—New Business.
We recommend that such a time be fixed for the introduction of all resolutions as will best serve to expedite the work of the convention.
We recommend a rule limiting all debate on motions to ten minutes for such delegates as desire to speak; no one to speak more than twice on one motion.

The report was received and the first section adopted with following amendment: "That all resolutions must be in the hands of the committee by 2 p. m., any other shall be admitted by consent of the body;" the second section was adopted as read.

The hour of 12 having arrived, it was on motion decided to adjourn until 2 p. m.
All the delegates were present at the morning session.
The Chairman promptly called the meeting to order at 2 p. m. The roll of delegates was called and all were present.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON OFFICERS' REPORT.

The above committee respectfully ask that the report of the State Committee be accepted, and the thanks of the convention tendered to those in whose hands the work has prospered so well. The movement in Pennsylvania may safely be stated to be in a better condition than ever before.

The State Committee makes three recommendations:
First—That increased effort be made by the party organization to supply funds for agitation, the present time being exceptionally favorable for propaganda. Your committee concurs in this recommendation, but considers that the matter properly belongs to the Committee on Ways and Means.
The State Committee also recommends that wherever practicable, centres composed of two or more Sections be formed for the purpose of effective work and in order to relieve the State Committee from a constantly increasing burden of work. Your committee approves of this recommendation, but points out that all political organizations, to do good work, must conform as nearly as possible to the existing political divisions of the State.

The third recommendation made is that the officers of the State Committee shall be paid for services performed, the work now constantly becoming heavier. We see no necessity for this on the part of any member of the State Committee other than the secretary, remuneration for whose work may be left to the discretion of the State Committee itself. This report was received, and on motion considered seriatim. Section first was held in abeyance until the Committee on Ways and Means reported. Section second was adopted as read. Section third, on motion to adopt, was lost. The report of the committee was then adopted as a whole.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS.

Submitted the following report:
WHEREAS, The Socialist Labor party cannot possibly make any headway unless we have a good propaganda, and
WHEREAS, All firmly convinced Socialists should do all in their power to help towards the success of the cause; therefore be it
RESOLVED, That each Section be assessed at the pro rata of membership

in order to create a special fund, to be known as "Propaganda Fund," use of which shall be at the disposal of State Committee.
Adopted as read.

COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION

Had nothing to report.

COMMITTEE ON PRESS

Submitted the following:
It is the opinion of the Press Committee that a liberal distribution of literature, in the nature of leaflets among workmen, will make more converts than any other method at present in sight; further, that all Sections in this State should do their utmost to raise funds to assist the publication of the DAILY PEOPLE. We therefore recommend that all Sections and Branches pay 5 per cent. of their receipts for the next three months to the DAILY PEOPLE Fund—a motion to non-concur was carried with the advice to all Sections and Branches to arrange festivals to raise funds for this purpose.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Reported having received thirteen resolutions, and recommended:
Resolution 1.—The State Committee to be transferred to Pittsburgh. Reported adversely. Resolution carried 14 against 8.

Resolution 2.—We think it desirable that an organizer of Lithuanian descent be sent out to organize the Lithuanians, a good class of people. (Favorably reported by the committee). Adopted.

Resolution 3.—The platform of the S. L. P. to be translated into Lithuanian, which would help to organize these workers. Adopted.

(These two resolutions were offered by Polish Section, Pittsburgh.)
Resolutions 4, 5, 6 and 7 were offered by Branch Southwark, Philadelphia, and all but No. 7 were reported favorably by the committee. To No. 5 the words "if possible" were added.

Resolution 4.—Members in good standing and citizens of the United States only shall have the right to serve on the State Committee. This resolution was adopted by the convention.

Resolution 5.—All resolutions directed to the annual convention of the S. L. P. of the State of Pennsylvania shall be in the hands of State Committee, if possible, at least one month prior to the convention. Adopted as amended.

Resolution 6.—All resolutions received by the State Committee one month prior to the convention shall be sent to the various Sections throughout the State at once for purpose of discussion. Adopted as read.

Resolution 7.—The annual convention of the Socialist Labor party of Pennsylvania shall organize the evening prior to the convention so as to enable the various committees to be ready to report at the opening of the convention. Not adopted.

Resolution 8.—Offered by the Flemish Branch, Philadelphia, reported favorably by the committee and adopted by the convention, to wit:

WHEREAS, The first of May is the Labor day established by the class-conscious workmen of all countries; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That all Sections of the S. L. P. throughout the State be called upon to take the initiative for the proper observance of that day.

Resolution 9.—These resolutions were offered by the American Branch, Philadelphia, favorably recommended by the committee, and adopted by the convention:

WHEREAS, The salaried fakirs officially representing the American Federation of Labor, who for years past have passed as non-partisan in politics, recently went to Washington, D. C., and without instructions from the organization they alleged to represent, petitioned the representatives of the capitalist parties for the passage of laws restricting immigration, reforming banking laws and demanding a working day of eight hours on all government and similar other labor; and
WHEREAS, No concessions will ever be made by capitalist parties which will permanently improve the condition of the toiling millions; and

WHEREAS, Permanent improvements of the condition of labor can be secured only by representative political action of the working classes, whose object shall be the abolition of the wage competition system and the institution of the co-operative commonwealth; therefore, be it
RESOLVED, That we denounce as traitors to their class all fakirs and their begging attitude, and we call upon all conscientious Socialists everywhere to turn their backs upon these night birds and rally around the standard of the international revolutionary proletarian movement as personified by the Socialist party.

Resolution 10 was offered by the Flemish Branch, favorably recommended by the committee and adopted by the convention, to wit:
RESOLVED, That the proceedings of this convention be printed by the incoming State Committee, and sufficient numbers of said copies be sent to all the Sections of the State.

Resolution 11.—Submitted by the American Branch, Philadelphia, was favorably recommended by the committee and adopted by the convention:
WHEREAS, The pitiable weak condition of the working class, and the arrogant attitude of the capitalist class in America are to-day the inevitable results of a policy on the part of the workers, that kept them blind to the class struggle and the antagonisms that point to the clear identity of interests on the part of all wage workers; and
WHEREAS, The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is an organization based upon the recognition of the fact that the capitalist class is a robber and traitor class, that must be opposed by the working class at the polls, and removed from every position of political power; an organization that demands the union label on the character of all

SECOND ANNUAL EXCURSION

For the benefit of the Swedish Socialist Paper

"Scand. Am. Arbetaren"

will be arranged by the United Scand. Workmen's Societies of New York and Brooklyn, with the elegant steamer SIRIUS.

SUNDAY, June 27th, 1897.

Boat will leave Pier 1, North River (Battery), at 8 o'clock; Bridge Dock, foot of Fulton St. Brooklyn, at 8.30 o'clock, and foot of East 21st St., N. Y., at 9 A. M.

Music by Carl Salm Club and song by the Scand. Workmen's Singing Society. POPULAR GAMES.

Ticket 50 Cents.

Children free.



Grand Picnic and Summernights Festival

of Section

GREATER NEW YORK, S. L. P.

on Monday, July 5, 1897, in

GUTERDING'S COSMOPOLITAN PARK and CASINO,

150th St. and Amsterdam Ave.

Combined with Gymnastic Exercises by the Social Democratic Turn Verein, New York.

The Socialist Drum and Pipe Corps will also entertain the guests. Prize Bowling for Gentlemen, also various Games for Prizes for Ladies and Children.

Music by the Carl Salm Club.

To Commence at 2 P. M.

TICKET for Gentleman and Lady 25 Cents.

THE COMMITTEE.

Take 3rd Ave. Cable Car and transfer at 125th St., direct to the park.

SHOTS.

(Continued from Page 1.)

army of unemployed into becoming scabs, eager to accept employment for less wages than their striking colleagues got. This is so of course if the tendency of capitalism to produce a new reserve army is prevented.

Often such questions as this have to be decided: It happened in Union No. 1 of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brassworkers' International Union of North America only about two or three weeks ago, and the decision "that employers have the right to employ as many men as they see fit," given by "the Executive Board of the International," proves the urgency of bringing up such questions. The economic movement alone can never accomplish anything near the required task; to successfully reduce the hours of the workday to a minimum in all industries requires laws made, interpreted and enforced by labor's own representatives. Nor can these laws be successfully carried out unless labor abandons all sympathies for the profits of the employers and forces its leaders to do the same. At present a rise of wages in one industry is done at the expense of all other labor, because the price of the necessities for labor's existence is raised while their wages remain the same.

Some people who claim to favor the introduction of Socialism into trades unions don't fancy the idea of simply stamping them as Socialistic, but they would wait until every one in the unions understands Socialism, and is favorably inclined to it. They claim, also, that the best paid workers, and the ones who have the best organizations, are the ones who must make the start, because they claim the poorly paid, unorganized workers are not intelligent enough. According to this, we should keep on allowing the fakirs to debar Socialistic propaganda and sound economics from the trades unions; we should allow the trades unions to be used as a weapon for capitalist hirelings (labor fakirs) to fight the class movement with; we should allow a sham labor movement to exist to draw the attention of the workers from the genuine one. And, I think, when they want to find intelligent, they will waste their energy when they seek this among the best paid and best organized workers. I grant that in certain trades tireless agitation has educated a great many workers in spite of their strong organizations and their high wages, but the nature of their work cuts one of the greatest figures in their ACTUAL intelligence.

The best paid and best organized labor has generally not experienced that it is utterly impossible to accomplish any lasting results by pure and simple economic organization. Conditions have generally been too favorable to set them to thinking; they ascribe their high wages and their solid organization to their own acuteness and shrewdness, and they, therefore, feel no sympathy with unorganized and poorly paid labor. The labor fakir has the best chance among them; here he is looked at as still acuter than the rest of them, and is admired on account of this. The poorly paid, unorganized workers look with suspicion on labor leaders; they know the fallacy of his boasts. People who expect the clearest perception of Socialism and class-consciousness among the aristocracy of labor might as well expect that a social revolution is performed because the people are too satisfied with the prevailing social system. Nobody must expect that the millionaires are going to take the lead; the middle class even, as a whole, is useless.

It is not necessary that each workman be a thorough Socialist before they can be organized into a new or Socialist Union, but it is necessary that they are organized upon class lines, and that any person or organization who would aid capitalism in consideration of money, a job or a political office, can be NAILED and branded as a traitor to the cause of labor. The time is fast approaching when such men will be found guilty of high treason for such an act, and will be dealt with in accordance to the enormity of THEIR CRIME. If once labor is organized or being organized on class lines, to educate them is an easy task. A thorough understanding of Socialism and revolutionary requirements is ESPECIALLY necessary for those who want to take an active part in the agitation.

M. MEYER.

Professor Richard T. Ely, professor of political economy of the University of Wisconsin, has sent out a request to all organizations of wage-workers in the United States, no matter of what character, to send him copies of all the literature published by them, such as official organs, labor day journals, statutes, leaflets, agitation material, handbills, posters, etc. All such packages will be received free by express companies. Such matter should be addressed to Reuben G. Thwaites, librarian, State Historical Library, Madison, Wis., and marked "Ely Collection." Professor Ely is the author of "Socialism and German Socialism," also many treatises bearing on economic subjects.

GRAND OUTING

28th Ward Branch, S. L. P., Brooklyn.

For the Benefit of the Campaign Fund.

SUNDAY, June 20th,

Laibacher's Summer Resort,

Opposite Glendale Schützen Park. All Party members with their friends are heartily welcome. To commence at 9 A. M.

Trades and Societies Calendar.

Carl Salm Club (Musicians Union). Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 44 East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: Fred. 29

Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1). Meet at 2.30 every Sunday afternoon at 64 East 4th street, New York City. All bona fide trade and labor unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City. 29

Cigarmakers' Progressive International Union No. 90. Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th street—District 1 (Hoboken), 224 East 7th street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District 11 (German), at 213 Forsyth st., meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District 13, meets at 157 avenue A, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District 14, meets at 342 West 4th street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 1422 2nd avenue, at 8 p. m. 29

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meet every Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street. Secretary: HENRY ZINCK. 29

German Waiters' Union of New York. Office: 35 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m., at the same hall. 29

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1028. D. A. 43, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters 75 E. 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 8 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, Pres. Fred. Wolf, corr. Sec'y, Residence, 173 E. 4th St. 29

Section Essex County, S. L. P., meet the first Sunday in each month at 3 p. m., at the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J. 29

Skandinavian Section, S. L. P. Meet 2nd and 4th Sunday of every month at 10 o'clock a. m., at Schuler's Hall, 231-233 East 3rd St., New York City. Subscription orders taken for the 8 and Socialist Weekly, SCAND. AM. ARBETAREN. 29

Socialist Science Club. Meets at Webster Hall, 127 West 4th street and avenue, every 1st and 3rd Friday at 8.30. Also Free Lectures, every Sunday night, 7.30 P. M., preceded by entertainment at same hall. 29

Upholsterers' Union of New York and vicinity. Meetings every Friday at 8 o'clock evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th St., New York City. Secretary, Carl Anders, 22 East 2nd street. 29

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Cohen's Book Store, Washington St., on the Bridge.
Crownfield's Store, Harrison Avenue, near Bennett St.

Charter Competition.

Notice to Competitors.

All competitors for Award on Charter of Socialist Labor party can have their drawings returned by sending to the undersigned their "nom de plume" and correct name and address on or before July 15th, 1897.

By order of the Committee,

A. C. KHN, Sec'y.

371 Eighth street, Brooklyn, N. Y.